1 2 3 4	999 E	CTION COMMISSION Street, N.W. ton, D.C. 20463 SENSITIV
5 6 7	FIRST GENERAL	L COUNSEL'S REPORT
8 9		MUR 5472
10		2
11	·	DATE RECEIVED: June 29, 2004
12 13		DATE ACTIVATED: September 29, 2004
14 14		EXPIRATION OF SOL: March 10, 2009
16 17	COMPLAINANT:	Jill Holtzman Vogel, Chief Counsel, RNC
18	RESPONDENTS:	Republican Victory 2004 Committee, Inc.
19		Republican Victory Committee, Inc.
20		Jody L. Novacek, treasurer, in her official
21		and personal capacities
22		Jason Novacek, in his personal capacity
23 24		Freeda Novacek, in her persanal capacity BPO, Inc.
24 25		BPO Advantage, LP
26		DI O Novembre, III
27	RELEVANT STATUTES	
28	AND REGULATIONS:	2 U.S.C. § 433(a)
29		2 U.S.C. § 434(a)
30		2 U.S.C. § 441(d)(a)
31		2 U.S.C. § 441d(c)
32		2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)
33		11 C.F.R. § 102.7
34		11 C.F.R. § 102.15
35		11 C.F.R. § 103.2
36 37		11 C.F.R. § 103.3(a) 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)
38		11 C.F.R. § 110.11(b)(3)
39		11 C.F.R. § 110.11(b)
40		are tout & venter/al
41 42	INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:	FEC Disclosure Reports
43 44 45	FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED:	Internal Revenue Service Public Filings

1 I. INTRODUCTION

- 2 This matter concerns solicitations to the public made by The Republican Victory
- 3 Committee, Inc. a/k/a Republican Victory 2004 Committee, Inc. a/k/a Republican Victory 2004
- 4 Committee ("the Committee"). The complainant Republican National Committee ("RNC")
- 5 alleged that the Committee violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended
- 6 ("the Act"), by knowingly and willfully fraudulently misrepresenting itself as being affiliated
- 7 with or acting on behalf of the national Republican Party, and knowingly anti willfulls
- 8 participating in a scheme to do so. See MUR 5472 Complaint ("Complaint").
- The Complaint alleges that the Committee, through its treasurer, Jody Novacek, and its
- 10 directors, Jason Novacek and Freeda Novacek, employed BPO, Inc. and/or BPO Advantage, LP
- (collectively, "the BPO entities") to assist in conducting a telemarketing fundraising campaign.
- 12 The purpose of the campaign was to solicit contributions and donations on behalf of the
- 13 Committee. The BPO entities hired as a subcontractor a company called Apex CoVantage,
- 14 L.L.C. ("Apex"), which in turn arranged for fundraising calls to be made on behalf of the

The apparent impetus for this Complaint was certain news reports in June 2004 that repeated allegations, first made in 2003, that the Republican Party had outsourced jobs making fundraising calls on behalf of the Party to India; the Complaint implies that the Respondents named herein were responsible for that outsourcing. At present time, those allegations appear to be unsubstantiated: there is no evidence of any ties between HCL (the company alleged to have made calls from India on behalf of the Republican Party in 2002-03) and any current Respondent. Furthermore, it does not appear that the Committee even existed at the time those allegations initially came to light, and therefore could not imme been responsible for such alleged entsourcing. His way different information came to light ituring the cearse of impestigations, this Office will address it in a separate General Counsel's Report.

² For purposes of this report, heminafter any reference to "Ms. Novanek" is intended to rafer to Jody Novacek; any reference regarding France Novacek will state her full name.

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1 Committee.³ The Committee followed up the fundraising calls with mailings requesting the

2 promised contributions and donations.

The communications via telephone and mail contained statements that, when taken in

4 context, implied that the Committee was affiliated with or acting on behalf of the Republican

Party. In addition, the phone calls made on behalf of the Committee did not contain the

appropriate disclaimer information and the mailing did not utilize the appropriate format for its

disclaimer. Finally, the Committee has repeatedly fathed to subsest reports to the Commission,

8 despite airect acknowledgement of its obligation to do so.

Based on a review of available information, this Office recommends that the Commission: 1) find reason to believe the Committee knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a), 434(a) and 441h(b); 2) find reason to believe the Committee violated 2 U.S.C.

§§ 441d(a) and 441d(c); 3) find reason to believe Jody Novacek, in her official and personal capacities, knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a), 434(a) and 441h(b); 4) find reason to believe Jody Novacek, in her official capacity, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a) and

441d(c); 5) find reason to believe BPO, Inc. and BPO Advantage, LP knowingly and willfully

violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)(2); and 6) take no action at this time regarding Jason Novacek and

17 Francis Novacek.

³ It appears that Apex utilized its affiliated call centers in India to actually conduct the telephone calls as part of the Committee's fundraising campaign. At this time, there is no evidence Apex was involved with the Committee or the BPO entities in any way other than a valid corporate transaction and there is no evidence Apex had any knowledge of or involvement in Respondents' scheme. In fact, according to the Complainant, a call from an Apex representative alerted the Republican National Committee to the activities that are the subject of this report. In addition, although Apex made calls from India, it does not appear those calls were the same calls that led to the 2003 press reports.

II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Background of the Committee and Jody Novacek.

In 2004, Jody Novacek, who since 1982 has been involved in Republican Party activities including fundraising, voter identification, advocacy, and get-out-the-vote activity, formed a committee called "The Republican Victory Committee, Inc." See Attachment 1, Letter dated June 30, 2004 from Republican Victory 2004 Committee ("Committee Response"), p. 3.4 The Committee is incorporated in the State of Texas. See Attachment 10, Lamer to Postal Inspector from Committee. "The Republican Victory Committee, Inc." has used different variations of its name on different occasions and the Committee's purpose is unclear; indeed, the Committee's own public filings are not consistent.

For example, on July 2, 2004, the Committee filed an initial Statement of Organization with the Commission under the name "The Republican Victory Committee Inc." See Attachment 2, Statement of Organization. The Statement of Organization was dated May 10, 2004; according to the instructions for this form, this date should have reflected the date the group became a political committee. The signature line was dated June 30, 2004 and the form listed Jody Provaunk as treasurer, custodian of records and designated agent. The form indicated that the Committee was a separate aggregated fend, but did not specify with which entity it was affiliated.

Therefore, on August 4, 2004, the Reparts Analysis Division ("RAD") sent the Committee a Request For Additional Information asking with which entity it was affiliated as a separate segregated fund. On September 1, 2004, the Committee submitted an amended

⁴ Ms. Navattak isitially was maified of and received a copy of the Complaint in this case from a reporter; accordingly, she submitted this "response" prior to being formally served by the Commission.

- 1 Statement of Organization indicating that it was neither a separate segregated fund nor a party
- 2 committee. See Attachment 3, Amended Statement of Organization. The Amended Statement of
- 3 Organization was filed under the name "The Republican Victory Committee" and the form again
- 4 listed Jody Novacek as treasurer, custodian of records and designated agent. The Committee
- 5 appears to conduct business, however, under the names "Republican Victory Committee" and
- 6 "Republican Victory 2004 Committee." See Attachment 4, Committee Mailing and
- 7 Attachment 5, Committee Call Script.
- The Committee also has vanillated regarding the type of organization it claims to be. The
- 9 Committee says that, in the late Winter or early Spring of 2004, it initially filed with the JRS a
- 10 Form 1023 Application for Recognition of Exemption under Section 501(c)(3).⁵ See Attachment
- 11 1, Committee Response, p. 8. However, the Committee says that it later contacted the IRS,
- withdrew the Form 1023, and, on May 10, 2004, filed electronically with the IRS a Form 8871
- Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status. Id.; Attachment 6. This form was filed
- under the name "The Republican Victory Committee, Inc.," listed Jody Novacek, Freeda
- 15 Novacek and Jason Novacek as directors of the Committee, and listed Jody Novacek as custodian
- of records. That filing claimed that the Committee was *[a] conservative, Pro-Republican Group
- 17 (sic) formeing on voter mobilization and insue advocacy at the state and losal levels." There is no
- 18 record of any other filings by the Committee on the IRB website.
- 19 The Committee purports to be a "national organization" that is "conservative" and "pro-
- 20 Republican" and whose declared intent is to assist state and local elections. See Attachment 5,
- 21 Committee Call Script ("The Republican Victory Committee is a national group that supports

The time of the filing (or if the filing actually commend) is assuming unbeasing because the Committee did not provide a copy of this filing and the form is not listed on the IRS website.

- state and local candidates."); Attachment 6, IRS Form 8871 ("A conservative, Pro-Republican
- 2 Group (sic)"); Attachment 4, Committee Mailing ("help support Republicans across the
- 3 country"). However, the information provided by the Committee on various occasions presents
- 4 contradictory evidence as to whether the organization was intended to influence, and in fact was
- 5 influencing, federal elections.

For example, at times, the Committee stated that its activities included voter mobilization and issue advotage at the state and levels, and that it wastil support Regulation standidates at the state and local level. See Attachment 6, IRS Form 8671 ("focusing on voter mobilization and issue advocacy at the state and local levels"); Attachment 1, Committee Response, p. 3 ("help candidates at the state and local levels"); Attachment 5, Committee Call Script ("so Republicans can win at the state and local levels"); Attachment 4, Committee Mailing ("Strong support at the local and state levels"). Yet other statements indicated that the Committee's actions were intended to and would affect federal elections. See Attachment 3, Amended Statement of Organization, line 5(f) ("supports/opposes more than one Federal candidate"); Attachment 5, Committee Call Script ("support our state candidates and President Bush's agenda"); Attachment 1, Committee Response, p. 9 ("our efforts would in fact impact federal elections"); Attachment 4, Committee Mailing ("support Republicans amages the country;" "defeat Demosass at all levels").

The Committee also has failed to file any reports with the Commission or IRS regarding its finances. The Committee has, however, filed reports with the Texas Ethics Commission from January 2004 through the end of July 2004, apparently under the name "Republican Victory Committee." See Attachment 7. Those reports indicated nominal receipts and disbursements for most of the covered periods, but stated that the Committee received \$5,135 in receipts and made

1	\$5,180 in dis	bursements for the period ending February 2004. This Office is aware of only one
2	political dona	ation for \$100 made by the Committee at the end of February 2004, as listed on a
3	report filed b	y the recipient of that donation, Jason Moore.6
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16	В.	The Committee and Jody Novacek May Have Knowingly and Willfully Made
17		Fraudulent Misrepresentations in the Context of Soliciting Contributions and
18		Donations.
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20	It appears that the Committee and Ms. Novacek embarked upon a strategy to solicit	
21	contributions and donations by making fundraising calls through telephone banks and by	
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⁶ Jason Moore ran for a seat in the Texas House of Representatives, 81st District and was Chairman of the Texas Young Republisms Posteration.

- following up on those phone calls with direct mailings. Those calls and mailings, however,
- 2 appear to have fraudulently misrepresented the Committee as affiliated with the Republican
- 3 Party. The Act, as amended by BCRA, states that no "person" shall:
- (1) fraudulently misrepresent the person as speaking, writing, or otherwise acting for or on behalf of any candidate or political party or employee or agent thereof for the purpose of soliciting contributions or donations; or (2) willfully and knowingly participate in or corapire to participate
 - (2) willfully and knowingly participate in or corapire to participate in any plan, schome, or design to violate paragraph (1).

2 U.S.C. § 441h(b).

To violate section 441h, the Act requires that the violator had the intent to deceive, but does not require that the violator sustain all elements of common law fraud. See MUR 3690; MUR 3700.8 "Unlike common law fraudulent misrepresentation, section 441h gives rise to no tort action..." and therefore proof of justifiable reliance and damages is not necessary. See Explanation and Justification, 11 C.F.R. § 110.16, 67 Fed. Reg. 76,969 (Dec. 31, 2002); Neder v. United States, 527 U.S. 1, 24-25 (1999) (citing United States v. Stewart, 872 F.2d 957, 960 (10th Cir. 1989)). The BCRA amendments were enacted in response to concerns that the prior version of the statute did not permit the Commission to take action significant was necessary because contributions often were schicited for money and budients their contributions and donations were benefiting a specific condidate, only to learn later that the funds were diverted to exactive

In the past, the Commission has held on occasion that the presence of a disclaimer stating the person and/or entity that paid for and authorized a communication negates intent. See MUR 2205; MUR 3690; MUR 3700. As will be discussed in greater detail infra, the Committee did place a disclaimer on its mailing. See infra, section II.C. However, in MUR 5089, the Commission more recently rejected the notion that such a disclaimer automatically negates intent and found reason to believe that a committee violated section 441h even with the presence of a disclaimer.

1	purpose. The harm was therefore both to the candidate and the contributor. See Explanation and
2	Justification, 11 C.F.R. § 110.16, 67 Fed. Reg. 76,969 (Dec. 31, 2002).
3	The Committee and Ms. Novacek represented the Committee in a manner that would lead
4	a reasonable person to think the Committee's solicitations were either from the Republican Party
5	or from an entity affiliated with the Party. Courts have held that even absent an express
6	misrepresentation, a scheme devised with the intent to defraud is still fraud if it was reasonably
7	calcuissed to deceive persons of ordinary prudences and comprehension. See United Sautes v.
8	Thomas, 377 F.3d 232, 242 (2d Cir. 2004), citing Siburman v. United States, 213 F.2d 405 (5th
9	Cir. 1954). Although the use of the word "Republican" in its name alone is not dispositive, when
0	combined with the other factors listed below, use of "Republican" in its name likely led
1	reasonable people to believe that the Committee was affiliated with the Republican Party.
12	Furthermore, the following statements were used in the Committee's direct mailings:
13	 "Contributions or gifts to the Republican Party are not deductible as charitable contributions."
15 16 17 18	 "I'm grateful our Party can count on your help to support Republicans across the country win elections."
19 20 21	 "The Republican Party can count on my support to help candidates at the state and local level. I'm proud to help our Party prepare for the November election."
22 23	See Attachment 4 (emphasis added). Here, a reasonable person reading those statements -
24	particularly the non-deductibility notice, which deals with the effect of the donation and cannot
25	be dismissed as rhetorical flourish — would have believed the Committee and Ms. Novacek were
26	soliciting money on behalf of the Republican Party.
27	Although not as clearly as the mailings, the telephone call solicitations also would have

led a reasonable person to believe that the Committee was acting on behalf of the Republican

- 1 Party. In the Committee's telephone call solicitations, the callers appear to have been instructed
- 2 to speak only with registered Republicans. Once they were certain they were speaking with a
- 3 registered Republican, the callers asked for support for "our state candidates and President
- 4 Bush's agenda" because "[i]t's going to be tough to beat the Democrats this fall." The caller
- 5 explained, "Your financial help is critical so Republicans can win...." See Attachment 5,
- 6 Committee Call Script. The callers never stated that they were not affiliated with the Republican
 - Party, and their statements would have led a reasonable partent to believe that they were so
- 8 affiliated.

- 9 If a recipient expressed confusion during the call, the caller was directed to use a series of
- 10 "rebuttals," drafted in advance by the Committee and Jody Novacek. See Attachment 5,
- 11 Committee Call Script. The rebuttals set forth answers to possible questions by call recipients,
- such as questions regarding for what purpose the money would be used; questions asking who
- and what the committee was; or statements expressing unhappiness with President Bush or the
- war in Iraq. However, only if the recipient of the call explicitly articulated some hesitation or
- 15 confusion similar to the questions set forth above did the caller explain who or what the
- 16 Committee was; indicate in even an indirect way that the Committee was not affiliated with the
- 17 Republican Posty, the Republican Notional Committee or President Bush; or indicate for what
- 18 purpose the donated money would be used.
- 19 Furthermore, the Committee's and Ms. Novacek's actions appear to have been knowing
- and willful. The phrase knowing and willful indicates that "actions [were] taken with full
- 21 knowledge of all of the facts and a recognition that the action is prohibited by law." 122 Cong.
- 22 Rec. H 2778 (daily ed. May 3, 1976); see also Federal Election Comm'n v. John A. Dramesi for
- 23 Cong. Comm., 640 F. Supp. 985, 987 (D.N.J. 1986) (distinguishing between "knowing" and

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"knowing and willful"). A knowing and willful violation may be established "by proof that the

2 defendant acted deliberately and with knowledge" that an action was unlawful. United States v.

3 Hopkins, 916 F.2d 207, 214 (5th Cir. 1990). In Hopkins, the court found that an inference of a

knowing and willful violation could be drawn "from the defendants' elaborate scheme for

disguising their ... political contributions...." Id. at 214-15. The court also found that the

evidence did not have to show that a defendant "had specific knowledge of the regulations" or

"conclusively demonstrate" a defendant's state of mind," if those were "facts and circumstances

from which the jury mannably could infer that [the defendant] knew her conduct was

9 unauthorized and illegal." Id. at 213 (quoting United States v. Bordelon, 871 F.2d 491, 494 (5th

10 Cir.), cert. denied, 439 U.S. 838 (1989)). Finally, "[i]t has long been recognized that 'efforts at

concealment [may] be reasonably explainable only in terms of motivation to evade' lawful

obligations." Id. at 214 (quoting Ingram v. United States, 360 U.S. 672, 679 (1959)).

The Commission previously has made knowing and willful and probable cause findings against a committee and individuals that violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h. In MUR 4919 (East Bay Democrats), the Commission found probable cause to believe a violation of section 441h occurred when a committee's campaign materials provided misleading information to potential contributors. In that case, a Republican committee created a factitious committee using the word "Damosratic" in the name of the committee and mailed campaign materials to registered Democrats, requesting that they not vota for the Democratic candidate. The mailing alleged that the Democratic candidate abandoned "our party," implying that the sponsor of the mailing was affiliated with the Democratic Party. The mailing also used the name of a local Democratic

Although a pre-BCRA case, the analysis in MUR 4919 can and should be applied to the current case.

- leader as the signator. Finally, the letter conveyed actual Democratic Party views, in an attempt
- 2 to make the communications appear that they were legitimate communications of a local
- 3 committee of the Democratic Party.
- In this case, the Committee used the word "Republican" as part of its name, implying
- 5 some type of affiliation with the Republican Party or RNC. Its mailing referred to "our Party"
- and even explicitly referenced the Republican Party in an attempt to convince the reader the
- 7 mailing was from the Republican Party. The scripts produced by the Committee and Ms.
- 8 Novacek provide for rebuttals and more detailed and descriptive explanations of the Cammittee
- 9 (for example, stating it was not affiliated with or working on behalf of the Republican Party or
- the Bush-Cheney campaign) -- but only if the recipient of the call specifically asked the question.
- Furthermore, the fact that these descriptions had already been drafted and incorporated into the
- 12 call script demonstrates the Committee's and Ms. Novacek's knowledge that the phone calls
- likely would be confusing to the intended recipients, and yet all failed affirmatively to address
- 14 this potential confusion.
- 15 Finally, the Committee's and Ms. Novacek's failure to file reports with the Commission
- 16 indicating on what, if anything, the money raised has been spent may be probative of the
- 17 Committee's intent to misrepresent inself to the public. See infra, section II.E. As described in
- 18 further detail below, the Committee has indicated that it has cagaged in \$50,000 worth of
- 19 activity, but has failed to disclose to the Commission the source of its money and/or the methods
- 20 by which it has expended any money. See United Health Care Corp. v. American Trade Ins. Co.,
- 21 88 F.3d 563 (8th Cir. 1996) (holding that evidence of planning and intent to deceive was
- 22 demonstrated by review of the money trail, which showed the money was not used for its
- 23 intended purpose). It is unknown whether the money was placed in a bank account separate from

- other monies or if it was commingled with Ms. Novacek's other accounts. In fact, the only
- 2 indication of any political disbursement is a \$100 donation to a state candidate in Texas, as
- 3 reported by that candidate (not the Committee). The Committee's and Ms. Novacek's actions
- 4 can be used to infer that the Committee and Ms. Novacek knowingly and willfully attempted to
- 5 fraudulently misrepresent the Committee's true identity to those from whom it was soliciting
- 6 money.

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- Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the
- 8 Committee and Ms. Novacek knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)(1).
 - C. The Committee, Ms. Novocek, and BPO, Inc. and/or BPO Advantage, LP Participated in a Scheme or Plan to Violate 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)(1).

In contravention of 2 U.S.C. § 441h(2), the Committee and Ms. Novacek also participated

- in a scheme with BPO, Inc. and BPO Advantage, LP to violate 2 U.S.C. § 441h(1). Subsection 2
- requires that violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)(1) be knowing and willful. 10 As stated above, the
- 15 phrase knowing and willful indicates that actions were taken with knowledge of the facts and
- with recognition that the action is prohibited by law. 122 Cong. Rec. H 2778 (daily ed. May 3.
- 17 1976); Federal Election Comm'n v. John A. Dramesi for Cong. Comm., 540 F. Supp. 985, 987
- 18 (D.N.J. 1986). Furthermore, efforts at concealment may demonstrate a defendant's state of mind
- and intent to violate the law. See United States v. Hopkins, 916 F.2d 207, 214-15 (5th Cir. 1990).
- BPO, Inc. is a company owned and operated by Jody Novacek. BPO Advantage, LP is a
- 21 marketing and consulting company also owned by Jody Novacek and listed as an affiliate of
- 22 BPO, Inc. See Attachment 9, News Article (K.P. Naver, Indian Voices in Bush Pitch -
- 23 Geography Error Blows Lid off Campaign Outsourcing, The Telegraph (Calcutta, India), August

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30, 2004); Attachment 8, Dun and Bradstreet report. According to press reports, Ms. Novacek

2 hired one of the BPO entities to manage the Committee's fundraising and pay the Committee's

3 telemarketing bills. See Attachment 9. The BPO entity, in turn, hired Apex to conduct the

4 telemarketing calls. It is unknown at this time which entity (BPO, Inc. or BPO Advantage, LP)

5 paid Apex or conducted business with Apex, but it appears that the companies are virtually

6 interchangeable: Dun and Bradstreet lists the companies as affiliated entities; they are both run

by Judy Novacek; and they both operate out of Ms. Novacek's home. It is also unknown at this

time whether either BPO entity beaufited financially from its arrangement with the Committee.

Ms. Novacek and the Committee classly did business and were familiar with the BPO entities. In fact, it appears that Ms. Novacek was a representative of the BPO entities: Ms. Novacek is the only representative referenced in the BPO entities' Dun and Bradstreet reports, and their addresses and telephone numbers are the same as Ms. Novacek's home (which is the same address and telephone number as the Committee). Based on all of those factors, Ms. Novacek's knowledge should be imputed to the BPO entities. Therefore, from the evidence available at this time, it appears that the BPO entities knowingly and willfully participated in a scheme or plun with Ms. Novacek and the Committee to execute the telephone call script.

Accordingly, this Office meanments that the Commission find reason to believe that the Commission find reason to be a second to

¹⁰ Section 441h(b)(2) requires that a respondent "willfully and knowingly" participate in, or conspire to participate in, a plan, scheme or design to engage in fraudulent solicitation. Thus, "knowing and willful" is an element of the statute rather than a separate basis for increased civil and criminal liability under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(d)(1)(C).

D. The Solicitations Failed to Carry Appropriate Disclaimers.

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Any public communication by any person that solicits any contribution or for which a

- 4 political committee makes a disbursement must contain a disclaimer. 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a);
- 5 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a). A public communication, for this purpose, includes any communication
- 6 by mailing or phone bank. 11 C.F.R. § 100.26. A "telephone bank" means more than 500
- 7 telephone calls of an identical or substantially similar nature within a 30-day period. 11 C.F.R.
- 8 § 100.28. "Substantially similar" means communications that include substantially the same
- 9 template or language. Id. If the communication is not authorized by a candidate, a candidate's
- 10 authorized political committee or say agent, the disclaimers must state the name and street
- address, telephone number or World Wide Web address of the person who paid for the
- 12 communication and state that the communication is not authorized by any candidate or
- candidate's committee. 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)(3); 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(b)(3). The disclaimer must
- 14 be presented in a clear and conspicuous manner, be of sufficient type size to be clearly readable,
- and be contained in a printed box set apart from the other content of the communication.
- 16 2 U.S.C. § 441d(c); 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.11(c)(1), 110.11(c)(2)(i)-(ii).
- 17 Here, the call script used by the Committee did not contain any disclaimer as to who paid
- 18 for or authorized the calls, despite the fact that they were direct solicitations for donations.
- 19 Because the exact number of calls made and the periori in which those calls were made are
- 20 unclear at this time, further investigation is necessary to determine whether the Committee and
- 21 Ms. Novacek violated the disclaimer law with respect to the phone bank calls.
- The mailings sent by the Committee contained a disclaimer stating that the mailing was
- 23 paid for by the Republican Victory 2004 Committee and was not authorized by any candidate or
- 24 candidate committee. However, the disclaimer was not set aside in a printed box apart from

- other content of the communication. Failure to include a box around the disclaimer is a per se
- 2 violation of the Act. Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to
- believe the Committee and Jody Novacek, in her official capacity, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a)
- 4 and (c).
 - E. The Committee and Jody Novacek Failed to File Appropriate Reports with the Commission.

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The Committee apparently existed as early as January 2004, although it is unclear at this time when the Committee began soliciting contributions and donations. The Act provides that a political committee shall file a Statement of Organization within 10 days of heroming a political committee, meaning that it received contributions aggregating in excess of \$1,000 per year or made expenditures aggregating in excess of \$1,000 per year. 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(4), 433(a).

- 13 However, the Committee did not file a Statement of Organization with the Commission until
- 14 June 30, 2004. The Committee has admitted that it should have filed a Statement of
- Organization sooner and that its June filing was late. See Attachment 1, Committee Response,
- 16 pp. 8-9.

The Act also requires that a treasurer of a political committee file reports of receipts and disbursements. 2 U.S.C. § 434(a)(1). Furthermore, all committees, other than an authorized candidate's summittee, shall file quantually reports in a year in which a singularly schaduled general election is held; the last day for filing is the 15th day after the last day of each quarter, or October 15, 2004 for the third quarter. 2 U.S.C. § 434(a)(4)(A))(i). We have no documentary evidence regarding the amount of money collected by Ms. Novacek and the Committee, or whether any significant disbursements or political donations were made by the Committee.

24 However, in October 2004, Ms. Novacek informally told RAD that the Committee has engaged

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- in more than \$50,000 worth of activity. From the statements in its mailings and phone scripts, it
- 2 appears that the Committee, at least in part, promoted President Bush directly; intended to affect
- 3 federal elections; targeted Republicans for voter registration; and attempted to conduct voter
- 4 mobilization activities. See Attachment 4, Committee Mailing; Attachment 5, Committee Call
- 5 Script. Accordingly, those funds were subject to allocation among federal and nonfederal
- 6 candidates and could be subject to federal contribution limitations. See AO 2003-37 at 2-4, 9-10.
- 7 13, 15, and 20; 11 C.F.R. §§ 166.1, 106.6(b), 106.6(c).
 - Despite repeatedly acknowlardging tirat it was and it required to file reports with the Commission regarding its finances, to date, the Committee has failed to file any financial report with the Commission. Those repeated failures occurred despite the Commission's explicit instructions directly to Ms. Novacek. First, in May 2004, Ms. Novacek admitted that she knew the Committee was required to file a report with the Commission in July; however, the Committee did not file a report in July 2004. See Attachment 10, Letter to United States Postal
- 14 Inspector. Then, in July 2004, despite her previous acknowledgement, Ms. Novacek claimed that
- she only learned on June 30, 2004 that she was required to file with the Commission any reports
- 16 for the Committee. Ms. Novacek further claims that she then contacted the Commission's Office
- of Public Information, which purportedly advised her that the report would be filed late and,
- 18 therefore, she should wait to file the report until after the third quarter. Even in the unlikely
- 19 event that the Office of Public Information actually gave this advice to Ms. Novacak and the
- 20 Committee, Ms. Novacek knew, as of June 30, 2004 at the latest, that she was required to file
- 21 with the Commission any reports on behalf of the Committee.
- 22 Second, long after that conversation with the Commission's Office of Public Information,
- 23 on the morning of October 14, 2004, Ms. Novacek contacted RAD, stating that she had only

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recently learned that the Committee was required to file reports with the Commission and

2 requested assistance from RAD.¹¹ At that time, Ms. Novacek informed the RAD analyst that the

3 Committee had engaged in more than \$50,000 worth of activity, which prompted the RAD

analyst to advise Ms. Novacek that the Committee was required to file electronically with the

5 Commission. Ms. Novacek informed the RAD analyst that she had yet to even request an

electronic password from the Commission. The RAD analyst advised Ms. Newacek to fax a

request fix an electronid paramond immediately and to file the report (even if the report would be

filed after the October 15, 2004 deadline) as som as the received the password. To dute, it does

not appear that Ms. Novacek has requested a password and she has not submitted any report to

the Commission. On November 2, 2004, RAD sent the Committee via Ms. Novacek a Notice of

Failure to File. On December 17, 2004, RAD sent the Committee via Ms. Novacek a second

Notice of Failure to File. To date, Ms. Novacek has not responded to either Notice.

The Commission repeatedly instructed Ms. Novacek directly when and how to submit the Committee's reports to the Commission. Furthermore, the Committee apparently has engaged in a significant amount of activity for the calendar year involving more than \$50,000. Except for the minimal reports filed with the Texas Ethics Commission (which do not demonstrate \$50,000 worth of activity and which were last filed at the end of Joly 2004), that money is unaccounted for by the Committee and Ms. Nevacek. To date, the Committee has failed to file any seport with the Commission reflecting any donations or contributions received, disbursements made, or cash on hand, other than the Statement of Organization filed in May and amended in September.

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¹¹ Ms. Novacek also asked the RAD analyst whether the Committee could accept unlimited contributions from one source and withthin the Committee sund arrespt contributions. The RolD analyst adviced him. Elecated of the contribution limitations and directed her to the BCRA supplement on the Commission's website for additional information.

Finally, it appears that the Committee and Ms. Novacek committed knowing and willful 1 2 violations of the Act. The Committee's response states that the Committee is a first-time filer and implies that it should be excused from any penalties for its violations of the Act. However, 3 the Committee's and Ms. Novacek's actions demonstrate that failure to file with the Commission proper reports was not accidental: by her own account, Ms. Novacek had been repeatedly 5 informed that she was required to file with the Commission reports on behalf of the Committee 6 and fluited to do so. Indeed, RAD has notified the Committee through Ms. Novactic en two 7 separate commissions that it failed to file appropriate decoments with the Commission, but the 9 Committee and Ms. Novacek did not respond to either notice. If the Committee and Ms. Novacek were "confused," as they apparently allege in their response, one would think they 10 11 would have made at least an attempt to inquire about why they were receiving non-filer notices. 12 Moreover, in light of the potential section 441h(b) violations, the Committee's and Ms. 13 Novacek's failure to file reports of receipts and disbursements with any authority except the Texas Ethics Commission, and their failure to file reports with any agency at all after July 2004, 14 15 raises questions as to whether the Committee and Ms. Novacek are intentionally hiding what they 16 have done with the money they have collected. Accordingly, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe the 17 18 Committee and Jody Novecek, is her official and personal capacities, knowingly and willfully 19 violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a). F. Jason Novacek and Freeda Novacek 20 21 Jason Novacek and Freeda Novacek have not responded to the Complaint. The publicly available information demonstrates that Jason Novacek and Freeda Novacek were listed as 22

directors of The Republican Victory Committee, Inc. on the Committee's IRS Form 8871 (Notice

- of Section 527 Status) filing. Because they are directors and not treasurers of the Committee,
- 2 this Office would be required to make any recommendation against Jason and Freeda Novacek in
- 3 their personal capacities. However, at this time, we have no other information regarding either
- 4 respondent's actual involvement in or with the Committee that would warrant such a finding.
- Indeed, this Office does not yet possess any information on these individuals except to know that
- they were listed on the Committee's filling as directors. Accordingly, this Office recommends
- 7 that the Commission take no action at this time regarding Jason Novacek and Freeila Novacek.
- 8 If, thuring the course of the investigation of this matter, information regarding either Janon
- 9 Novacek's or Freeda Novacek's role or involvement in the Committee's actions with respect to
- io these calls and mailings is discovered, this Office will amend its recommendations accordingly.

G. Conclusion

- Based on the foregoing information, this Office recommends the Commission find reason
- to believe that the Republican Victory Committee, Inc. a/k/a Republican Victory 2004
- 14 Committee, Inc. a/k/a Republican Victory 2004 Committee and Jody Novacek, in her official and
- personal capacities, knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a), 434(a), and 441h(b).
- 16 Furthermore, this Office recommends the Commission find reason to believe that the Republican
- 17 Vintery Commune, Inc. a/k/a Republican Victory 2004 Committee, Inc. a/k/a Rupublican
- 18 Victory 2004 Conemittee and Jody Navasak, in her official capacity, violated 2 U.fl.C.
- 19 §§ 441d(a) and 441d(c). This Office further recommends that the Commission find reason to
- believe that BPO, Inc. and BPO Advantage, LP knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C.
- § 441h(b)(2). Finally, this Office recommends that the Commission take no action at this time
- 22 against Jason Novacek and Freeda Novacek.

I III. INVESTIGATION

2		The so	cope of discovery in this matter will vary depending on the	e information that is
3	provid	led by ti	he Committee, Jody Novacek and the BPO entities in res	ponse to the Factual and
4	Legal	Analyse	es supporting the reason to believe findings.	
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				In order to expedite the
10	ensuir	ng inves	tigation, at this time this Office seeks authorization to iss	sue appropriate
11	interro	interrogatories, document subpoenas, and deposition subpoenas. These subpoenas would be		
12	directo	directed to the Committee, the BPO entities, representatives from each entity, Jody Novacek,		
13	Freeda	Freeda Novacek, Jason Novacek, and any other relevant witnesses that may arise as a result of		
14	our in	vestigat	ion in this matter.	
15	IV.	RECT	<u>OMMENDATIONS</u>	
16		1.	Open a matter under review.	
17 18 19 20 21		2.	Find reason to believe that the Republican Victory Con Republican Victory 2004 Committee, Inc. a/k/a Republican Committee knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b).	ican Victory 2004
23 24 25 26		3.	Find reason to believe that the Republican Victory Con- Republican Victory 2004 Committee, Inc. a/k/a Republican Victory 2004 Committee, Inc. a/k/a Republican Victory 2004 Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a) and 441d(c).	
27 29 29		4.	Find reason to believe that Jody Novacek, in her official knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a), 4	

1 2 3	5.	5. Find reason to believe that Jody Novacek, in her official capacity, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a) and 441d(c).	
4 5	6.	Find reason to believe that BPO, Inc. and BPO Advantage, LP knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)(2).	
6 7 8	7.	Take no action at this time regarding Jason Novacek and Freeda Novacek.	
9	8.	Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analyses.	
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	9.	Authorize the use of compulsory process, including the issuance of appropriate interrogatories, document subpoenas, and deposition subpoenas, directed to the Republican Victory Committee, Inc., a/k/a Republican Victory 2004 Committee, Inc., a/k/a Republican Victory 2014 Committee, Inc., a/k/a Republican Victory 2014 Committee, Jody Novansk, BPO, Inc., BNO Advantage, LP, Francia Novansk, Jaan Novacek, and to other witnesses as deemed necessary; and the issuance of papropriate additional interrogatories, document subpoenas, and deposition subpoenas, as necessary.	
9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	10.	Approve the appropriate letters. Lawrence H. Norton General Counsel	
!5 !6 !7		Lawrence Calvert, Jr. Deputy Associate General Counsel for Enforcement	
18 19 10 11	1/26 Date	BY: Sidney Rocke Assistant General Counsel	
15 14 15 16 17		Alexandra Dournas Attorney	
18 19	Attachments:		
10 11 12 13	2. Staterne	se of Republican Victory 2004 Committee (without attachments) Int of Organization for the Republican Victory Committee, Inc. dated May 10, 2004 Inc. of Organization for the Republican Victory Committee Inc. dated	

September 1, 2004
4. Republican Victory 2004 Committee Mailing

5. Republican Victory 2004 Committee Call Script
6. Public filing of The Republican Victory Committee, Inc. with the IRS
7. Public filings of Republican Victory 2004 Committee with the Texas Ethios Committee
8. Dun and Bradatmet reputs and public exporate recases for RPO, Inc. and BPO Advantage
9. Representative news articles

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11
12



Republican Victory 2004 Committee

2100 MStreet NW Ste 170 #125 · Washington, DC 20037-1233

MAILED 07:02:04 44 Page of Attachments

5472

June 30, 2004

Lawrence H. Norton, Esq. General Counsel Office of the General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E St., NW Washington, DC 20463

RE: Republican National Committee (RNC) Complaint filed June 29, 2004 against The Republican Victory Committee, Inc.

Dear Mr. Norton:

At approximately 5pm CST yesterday evening (June 29. 2004) I received via fax a copy of the complaint filed with your office that day, from Sharon Theimer, a reporter for the Associated Press, requesting comment to meet a deadline. Today I learned from personnel at the FEC (Roger Heron (?last name spelling?), Phillip Dean and a woman in the public information office) that this document is not available nor in the public domain, and should not have been in the hands of a reporter and in fact the FEC would not even acknowledge to me receipt of this document and therefore I could not get an official copy from the FEC. Both Mr. Heron and Mr. Dean were very helpful, to the extent they could be, in helping me understand the FEC process within their areas of expertise.

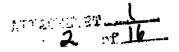
My call to your office this morning was to simply acquire information on how to respond to the errors in the RNC complaint. I was very surprised to be told that only the RNC and your office should have had copies of it at this time. My impression when contacted by the reporter last night was that she acquired the document because it was available to the public – possibly off a website or a docket listing such as a courthouse would keep. However, since that is not the case, it's my impression the RNC "leaked" this to the press for their own gains. Furthermore, during my conversations with the reporter, she told me she only had the complaint and not all the attachments. However, she apparently contacted her source and got the attachments emailed to her. I was on the phone with her when she received this additionally information and she sent use a second fax of these documents.

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I tried to reach the RNC last night after I receive the fax from the reporter and before I made comment, but was unsuccessful. This morning, I spoke with the RNC attorney that filed the complaint, Jill Vogel, to try to resolve any issues they have. Unfortunately, she was only available in her car via cell phone and did not have her documents available and therefore could not give me all the details of what the issues were and how they came to make this filing. She did say that there were other people who "worked" on this and she did not know all the details of their "findings." We agreed to talk later today when she was back at her office and I asked her how she would like me to handle any additional reporter inquiries that might result because of the AP release. She asked me to make sure I told the press that the calls we made from India were not RNC calls. I said I already had and would be happy to do so again since they were not RNC calls, but rather The Republican Victory Committee culls.

Around 2:30 pm CST I had not heard from Ms. Vogel. I placed a call into her office and spoke with her assistant. Dillon. I was told she was on a call, but she would be in the office the rest of the afternoon and could call me back. I clearly told her this morning we were not the group making calls for the RNC from India and I pointed out several errors in her facts within the complaint. I would like to address these errors in detail in this document in hopes this expedites the process and resolves any outstanding issues the RNC is concerned about. Words in bold face below are directly taken from their filing.

- 1. Page 2: Section I. Sustement of Facts: A. Background.
 - a. Concerned individuals recently contacted the RNC Ms. Vogel was unable to tell me how many people called, and as such she could not identify any of them.
 - Caller-identification numbers returned on these calls were associated b. with a call center in New Dehli, India. - This is absolutely correct. We were naking calls from India on behalf of The Republican Victory Committee – not on behalf of the RNC – as they claim. Additionally, the RNC claims we were doing this with knowingly and willfully fraudulent misrepresent. If fraud was our intent, we would have blocked the calleridentification number so no one could trace the call. We knew the caller-id was transmitting, because we received a handful of return calls at the center. Furthermo :, political calls are exempt from the law requiring ANI pass-through. We were not required to post a caller-id number, yet we did so anyway. There were two reasons for this. First, Apex's dialing system capabilities could not separate different client campaigns and post different numbers. So a number had to be posted and the number is used for all their campaigns. (Again, if fraud was our intent, we would have simply used a different call center.) Secondly, the average citizen does not know the law exceptions and thus it is in our best interests to comply and take the issue off the table before a customer brings it up.

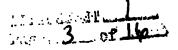


c. In "the Washington DC of Virginia." — As the materials submitted by the RNC with this complaint attest, we had a scripted response to this question in our telemarketing script that reads. "Our office is right outside Washington DC — in Virginia." The call center is APEX CoVantage whose corporate office is located in Herndon. VA. Furthermore, I do not believe it is against any law to decline to give the location of a call center company and/or give a general location of a company. In fact, major companies such as SBC, have company policies stating not to give the location of their call centers for security and safety reasons.

Additionally, I have been doing Republican calling since 1982. This includes fund-raising, voter ID, advocacy, and get-out-the-vote. To the best of my recollection, except in the rare case when the call center was located in the state where the candidate resided. I can't ever remember a program where the client (party, committee, candidate) wanted us to disclose the location of the call center. The instructions have always been to under no circumstance disclose the location or name of the call center.

d. Recipients of these solicitations were led to believe that the request for money came from the Republican Party, based on the group's name, the description of the purpose and activity of the group, and the language and appearance of the group's direct mail solicitations. -The attachments provided by the RNC shows when a consumer was confused as to wha was making the solicitation request, we had a scripted response that acknowledged it can be confusing. That there were lots of groups plus candidates. Our script reads. "The Republican Victory Committee is a national group that supports state and local candidates. Your gift will go to help candidates in your state who are in close races and need help to put them over the top." The main purpose of forming our group was to have funds available to help candidates at the state and local levels win close elections by mobilizing voters. Our plans are to evaluate close state and local elections approximately one month before an election and to implement a get-out-the-vote canonium in that area. We are a Republican-leaning group, so we will target registered Republican's in that area and not only encourage them to get to the polls. but offer to assist them in securing transportation if they needed it and offer to make a special reminder call on election day – for example, to their office an hour before they go to lunch – so they remember to vote on their lunch break. In the future we may also do advocacy work, but at this time, being a startup operation, our intent is to focus on voter mobilization of registered Republicans.

With regard to the name of the group, we did a name search and found no issues with our name selection. Furthermore, there are other groups that use the words "Republicana" "Victory" and "Committee" in their names that are not affiliated with the RNC. The RNC acknowledges in the



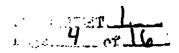
complaint they have no ownership of the term "Victory Committee." However, before this morning's conversation with Ms. Vogel. I was unaware than the RNC had a "Victory Program" and I carrently do not know the purpose nor if this program is raising money.

Is there some "confusion" in the general consumer marketplace of political fundraising? There is. However, it existed long before the organization of The Republican Victory Committee. The RNC's own telemarketing scripts direct a consumer to wait until they get a specific envelope to mail in their contribution – instructing them to do so because they know the consumer could very well have a letter in their home from the Republican National Senutorial Committee (or one of the other groups or candidates) and could mail the contribution to another group thinking it was who just called. We have in fact received back our pledge respenses that state such things as "I just sent the check to Bush-Cheney." In the past we have tossed these out, but I will be keeping any we receive going forward. I'm sure every organization - including the RNC - receives such notes as part of their fundraising efforts. It does not mean the RNC's telemarketers fraudulently misrepresented themselves as raising money for the Bush campaign. Likewise. we did not tell consumers we were the RNC or the Bush campaign.

With regard to our use of en "eagle" in our logo. Postal Inspector Dominic Pinto told me this was part of the RNC's complaint to them. In our response to the Post Office we provided information on where we got the logo - which was from a website clipart.com. I also faxed this information to the reporter last night. While I was on the phone with her, she got her email of additional attachments from her source. This was after she had received our clipart.com document. She pulled up one of the down-loaded documents and said our letter had Ed Gillespie's name on it and the words Republican National Committee with an eagle. I told her that was absolutely not our letter and that the RNC had the wrong group. I specifically asked her if this letter had the same eagle as the one I had faxed ber and she said yes. Then we had a short discussion about the odds of two groups picking the same logo. I was floored this could happen, but it we n't out of the realm of possibilities since we got the logo off a public website. Within about 5 minutes she had up-loaded all her attachments and had figured out the letter of discussion was in fact an RNC letter, not ours: and she had not looked at our eagle logo and when she did found they are different.

I've attucheti the same clipart.com documentation herein.

e. The RNC asked those who contacted the Committee to forward any solicitation materials or other information that they received... as a result, we have detailed information regarding fraudulent phone and



mail activity, which has ultimately been the basis for independent inquiry by the U.S. Postal Service and other investigators. - If the RNC has materials from "those who contacted the Committee" they have NOT provided it as attechments to the complaint. The maturials attnaked are documents we provided the Postal Service in response to their inquiry. According to Inspector Pinto, this inquiry was a result of the RNC filing a complaint with them. The Postal Service did not independently investigate us - it was a result of an RNC inquiry. Furthermore, the inquiry resulted in the minimum action taken to dismiss the claim. The RNC filed the complaint. The Postal Service sent notice to us they were holding our mail and requesting documents. We provided documents and the issue was dismirand immediately - without a hearing trefore a judge - because the RNC claims were unformeded. Furthermore, the RNC had 14-days to challenge the dismissal and they did not. In their complaint to the FEC. they of course fail to mention these facts and did not attach the dismissal notices. I provided this documentation to the AP reporter and have also attached it herein.

As to "other investigations" the RNC does not provide information in the FEC claim and I know of no other investigation.

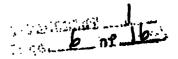
f. The recipient of the call was eventually transferred to Jody L. Novacek in Dathas, Texas, who claimed to be the Chairman of the group, and thus further information forming the basis if this complaint came to light. - Although I no longer have the name of this "recipient" I am very confident this is a gentleman I spoke to since there was only two incidents with an irate customer and therefore I am confident I absolutely know the circumstances of this call. I believe the man was from California, but I will be checking my telephone records this week to try to identify the man's telephone number. The call was NOT transferred to me - I actually CALLED THE MAN BACK. I happened to know of the call because I was on the telephone with the call center when I was informed there was a very irate customer on the line with one of the agents. The man was insisting on talking to a supervisor - which the call center honored, but the man was not satisfied with talking to the supervisor. I instructed the call center to tell the man he veould get a call back from me and they gave him my name. He kept our agent on the phone for approximately 30-40 minutes. An average call is 2-3 minutes. He wanted to be transferred, but we couldn't transfer the call from the calling system. The supervisor kept coming into the room where I was on the phone and telling me the man would not let the agent off the phone and kept yelling at him that he had to transfer the call, which was impossible. By this time I mad the man's name and telephone number and was planning to call him to address whatever he was upset about. I sent the supervisor back out to the ealling floor to tell the man I could not call him until he kung up. The man did not want to hang up and kept velling at

the agent not to hang up on him. In the Indian culture they are very polite and hanging up with someone who was trate is very counter to their personalities. I sent the supervisor out 2 or 3 times finally instructing the supervisor to take over the call and hang up on the man.

I called and talked to this man and there should be a record on the phone bill that will identify this call. I told him the call did generate from India. I provided him my information and the address of our post office box in Washington, DC. I did not refer to myself as the "Chairman", although if I had, this gentleman appeared to be knowledgeable about the RNC and he certainly would have know the Chairman was Ed Gillespie. If our callers had represented we were fund-mising for the RNC and I had said I was the Chairman surely he would have questioned me en the validity of this claim. But, since we were not claiming to be the RNC, nor did I say I was the Chairman of the RNC, it's a discussion we did not have. He was told we were The Republican Victory Committee. He further told me he had lived in Washington. DC, so he was familiar with the address 1 had given him. He knew the calls were from India because he had already returned the caller ID number when I reached him. Additionally, shortly after this (meaning a couple days), the call center got a call from a man who identified himself as Trevor on the same number caller-id number. I know a Trevor Person who works at the RNC. Although I have never met Trevor, we have talked on the phone over the years and I know him to the extent that his last name is pronounced "Pearson" although spelled "Person". My assumption is this gentleman passed on the information we provided him to the RNC and since they did not outsource to off-shore call centers. Trevor was making an inquiry.

At the time I was unaware of what has been termed the "urban legend" that the RNC outsourced calls to India. If I had known this at the time. I probably would have called Trevor. I leacned of this issue on June 4, 2004 when I received a voicemail from a friend in the DC area the day this topic was discussed in the Washington Post in a column entitled "In-the-Lonp" written by Al Kamen. This is the first I knew of the India eall centur issue at the RNC. I went to the Post website and read the article several days after the voicemail. A person has to register to get on the site and I will be more than happy to provide you authorization to obtain the registration date/information from the Post if you need it to verify the date I became aware of the RNC's "urban legend."

To the best of my knowledge, the only calls we received from the caller-id number were these two. We also had a man mail us back a note that said he was going to send our stuff to his state party and the RNC for verification and would send his pledge after hearing back from these two groups.

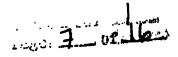


There was also a man from Pennsylvania who was upset the caller used his first name versus "Mr. ____." Again the call center past on this name and number and I ealled this gentleman back to apologize. We ended up having a very nice long conversation. Although I don't remember his name or where exactly he lived, phone records should reveal his phone number. Additionally, he was either the current or past county party head. And, he told me he greeted President Bush recently when the President flew in to attend the Little League World Series. It was a long conversation and he shared with me how his particular county use to be Democrat, but now all the major offices were Republican. I told him I lived in Texas and of course when Bush was re-elected Governor, he led the way for a similar "sweep" and that I placed several 100,000 phone calls to help with these elections. I shared with him we want a new group and our goels for "building a better mouse trap" when it came to voter mobilization. It was a very pleasant call and he was so kind to offer any help he could extend us.

And, finally, I was monitoring calls one evening, early in the programs existence, and happened to hear a call we had with the wife of the California Republican Party head. She pledged and we mailed her a pledge letter.

I know of no other "compleints" to the RNC in association with our calls. In all cases, we have responded immediately – the same day when possible or the following day. This includes calling the irate CA man, calling the Postal Service and calling the FEC first thing this morning after being contacted by the AP reporter last night. The reporter actually FAXED her request to speak with me because the number she had happened to be hooked up to a fax machine. So I even called the reporter to respond to her inquiry.

With all due respect, these are not the actions of an organization who's conducting finudulent activity and everything the ftNC has provided in this complaint appears to be the information we provided the Postal Service. If they have other materials, they have not included these in the complaint they filed with the FEC. Additio ally, if fraud was our motives, it would seem reasonable we would have "snut down" after knowing we got a call from the RNC (Trevor Person) or even earlier when we talked with the wife in CA. We most certainly would not have mailed her a pledge letter and I would not have been giving my name out and returning calls to people who were upset. We did not shut down this call center until negotiations on the terms of EXPANSION of the program broke down. We were planning to increase the India calling activity in May, June and July of this yeas. That would not have been the case if we were ounducting fraud and had been "discovered."

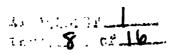


- 2. Pages 2-3: Section I. Statement of Facts: B. Factual and Legal Analysis.
 - At the time of these solicitations, this group lacked the means to effectuate any of these claims because it was not a federally registered political committee nor, based on a review of disclosure agencies. registered as a political committee in a single state. - Although 1 do not know this for a fact, my assumption is the RNC also has a copy of our 3page letter sent to the US Postal Service in response to their inquiry. The RNC has the attachments that were sent as part of this letter and therefore I'm assuming they also have the letter. In this letter we acknowledge the wrong form was filed with the IRS and that has been corrected with no penalty from the IRS. (Again, this is information we provided freely.) We are new and first-time filers in this process. To file for non-profit status. the IRS website instructed us to use Form 1023. The instructions on this form say you have 15 months to file and the IRS then sends you a "determination letter" telling you if you qualify as a non-profit organization and if so, under what classification. It says you can raise money. However, if it is determined you do not qualify as tax-exempt, you must pay taxes on your revenues. We have attached a copy of this document. It does not say if you are filing as a political group you use another form.

During my first phone call with Inspector Pinto. I told him we had not received our IRS determination letter. In preparing the documents to send him, we called the IRS to inquire if they had made a determination so we could include it. Through these discussions, it was discovered that we – not the IRS – could "determine" our status as a Section 527. However, this required a different form – 8871. This is the form we should have filed and did so immediately online. We have attached the 3-page letter to the Postal Service that gives further detalls in this area.

So the RNC claim that we had not filed for political status at the time of the calls is correct. However, if they have a copy of the 3-page letter to the Postal Service they also know it was an incorrect filing based on IRS Form 1023 instructions.

Additionally, based on Form 8871 we planned to file our reports with the FEC on a semi-annual basis. We've attached the documents that state it's our choice to report monthly, quarterly or semi-annually. We also know this report is due in July. And, I was quoted in the AP article saying we planned to submit our first report in July. Since my discussions with Phillip Dean at the FEC this morning. I have learned that the information we have stating it is our choice to file semi-annually is incorrect and we must file quarterly.



We did not know we were required to file Form 1 with the FEC. During my discussions with Phillip Dean at the FEC this morning, he initially said he didn't think I needed to file Form 1 because we are not plauning to be active in any federal election, but rather state and local. However, 1 expressed to him we would rather file with the FEC versus dealing with 50 state filings. From a resource perspective, we felt this was the best option. He told me we could file with the FEC, but from their side they really only wanted to deal with organizations who were involved in federal elections.

As we talked more, it was determined since our voter mobilization efforts would be targeted towards voters in a specific area where a local or state candidate need help to win, but that we planned to be "general" in our scripting, that our efforts would in fact impact federal elections since it is assumed a Republican voter has a high umbability to vote for a federal Republican candidate, and therefore Form 1 should have been filed. This will be completed and sent certified mail by close of business. July 2. 2004. It only seems reasonable that at the time we made the IRS correction, if we knew the Form I requirement, it would have been filed then. At that time, we had no idea the Postal Service was going to dismiss our claim based on the documents we provided. In fact they had scheduled the hearing for June 2, 2004. If we had known Form 1 was a requirement and knowingly did not file it at that time, we would have knowingly jeopardized the contributions the Postal Service was holding and they would have been returned to the sender. Our netions show that we wanted nothing but to correct any errors in our filings.

Furthermore, we would like to point out that once again filing information is incorrect on an official government document – this time on the FEC's Form 1. Mr. Dean told me we should have filed this within 10 days of spending or raising \$1,000. Our discussion about filing Form 1 that included we could not file it today (June 30, 2004) on-line. It had to be mailed in and since today was the last day in June, the FEC would not receive it until sometima in July. Thus Mr. Dean told me we would not have to file a quarterly report in July – but rather after the next quarter. He also gave me instructions on were to find the form off the website. When it printed both the form and the instructions off, I came across the following:

...must file reports in an electronic form under 11 CFR 104.18 if they have either received contributions or made expenditures in excess of \$50.000 during a calendar year, or if they have reason to expect that they will exceed either of those thresholds during the calendar year. If your committee has reached this level of activity, you must file this form in an electronic format.

Mr. Dean's instructions were our only option was to mail in Form 1. Sn I immediately called him back and asked about this since we expect to

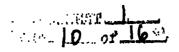
receive contributions in excess of \$50.000. He told me that it was a big contention within the FEC because you in fact could NOT file this form online as inetrusted and it HAD TO BE MAILED IN.

Furthermore, if the RNC had not filed this complaint, the FEC would have received our July report and my assumption is you would have notified us that we had not filed Form 1. At that time we would have corrected the issue, as we are now.

All this said, as a new group we have made filing errors based on a lack of clear and correct instructions from governmental agencies and their websites. When these errors have been brought to our attention, we have corrected them immediately. These are not the actions of a group latent on fraud. None-the-less, as with the IRS filing, I esked Mr. Dean if we were subject to a penalty for not filing Form 1 on time, and who I should contact to resolve the issue. He said that there could be a penalty, but penalties had been waived for groups, especially first-time filers and that the maximum would be 2 times the amount of donations, and it would be based on findings after we submitted Form 1.

Additionally, my concern is because this has come to light <u>unfortunately</u> on the last day of the quarter, and therefore our Form 1 will not be received until July – and we have fundraising activity in the first and second quarters – yet our report will not be due now until after 3rd quarter – is there anything we can or need to do to "back-file" reports? When we file after 3rd quarter, we do not want issues regarding our 1st and 2nd quarter fundraising to re-surface at that time. If at all possible, we would like to "back-file" so this issue can be put to rest. If this is not an option, we would like written confirmation that our first report is due after 3rd quarter.

... from representatives of Apex CoVantage, L.L.C.... After apparent b. contractual problems. Apex contacted the RMC to verify that the solicitation efforts of "The Republican Victory Committee" and "The Republican Victory 2004 Committee" were, in fact, legitimately associated with the RNC. Apex was informed that these efforts were not authorized by the RNC, and conscientiously withheld delivery to Advantage of checks received in response to the solicitations. - I expressed to Ms. Vogel this morning that this information could not be correct. I inquired who she talked to at Apex and stated it could not have been an executive within Apex who knew the program. This is when she disclosed to me she had other people who provided her with this information and she did not know who the representative was. The executives involved with this program at Apex knew unconditionally this was not an RNC program. The extent of this knowledge is supported in several conversations with executives at Apex. After the program had



been up for several weeks, the Chairman of Apex, who had not been involved with the program launch, asked to have a conference call to learn more about the program and outbound telemarketing in general. During this call, which also included the other owner/partner end the President of Apex CoVantage, the Chairman used "RNC" casually in the conversation. I immediately corrected him and in detail explained that there were multiple types of political organizations. Through this discussion, he became excited, reasoning that if they did well on this program they would have an opportunity to contact other political organizations and win their work. My response to this was that there was certainly opportunity, but that I knew there were some groups that would not place business offshore - one of these being the RNC. This meeting also covered plans to hire and increase the ealling. Several days after this, I repeived a cell from the other owner who had participated in the næeting. She had also been involved with the program from the beginning. She questioned me again about the RNC not placing work offshore and if I knew this as a fact.. She told me that they were interviewing candidates at the call center for this program and several of these candidates were saving their qualifications included fundraising for the RNC at another call center. My response was I was 99.8% sure all the RNC work was state-side. This was based on a conversation I had with Jeff Johnson at the RNC 1-2 years earlier inquiring about their fundraising program and if we could rim it in a call center in the Caribham. At that time Joff told me they would never go offshare.

Finally, it was the third person who was in the conference call meeting, the President of Apex CoVantage, that called and left me the voicemail about the In-the-Loop article on June 4th. He is also the person I was working with several years ago when I called Jeff Johnson at the RNC about possibly doing work at a Caribbean call center. Thus he has known for quite some time that the RNC does not use off-shore call centers. This is why he left the voicemail message – he knew I would be interested since we had for moveral years had discussions on the same topic.

I had knowledge the RNC was not interested in using off-shore call centers. If my it ent was fraud, no rational person would place this program in an off-shore call center, increasing the potential of drawing attention to the fraudulent activity.

c. A further troubling consequence of this activity is that the RNC has been forced to respond to unfound allegations that it outsourced fundraising calls to an Indian telemarketing firm. In fact, according to information available to the RNC, Ms. Novacek and her firms subcontracted with Apex for the fundraising calls that generated this false story. While herm may not be an element of a violatian of the ban on fraudulest misrepresentation, respondent's repetitive conduct

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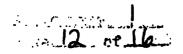
directly harmed the RNC and legitimate Republican Party efforts. — In support of this, the RNC submits it's own statement dated May. 21. 2004 quoting RNC Communications Director Jim Dyke as saying this "urban legend" has been cimulating for "the better part of a year." And they attribute the source of this "urban legend" to John Kerry supporters — not The Republican Victory Committee.

On May 21, 2004 the Postal Service had dismissed the RNC complaint and released our mail. Trevor Person had already called our Indian call center and knew calls were being made. We assume they had the documents we submitted to the Postal Service. We are not a Kerry-supporting group. Furthermore, the RNC spokesperson said the "urbun legend" had been around for more than a year. That is a year before we ever placed a call from India. The RNC is claiming we GENERATED this false story, when their own facts clearly show this is not true and that the false story existed before our calls began.

Anyone who does minimal research on this issue through the Internet, will discover that the RNC knows about and has responded to this story that appears to be GENERATED on work done by an Indian company named HCL. According to newspaper reports, HCL made millions of RNC fundraising calls from their Indian call centers in Noida and Gurgaon. The Apex call centur is located in Gurgaon. According to the reports, up to 125 agents worked on RNC programs at any one time, during the period between May 16, 2002 and July 22, 2003. It is understandable a reporter could interpret this to be 125 total people worked on this program. However, based on my industry experience I know call centers manage their business based on work-station capacity. I would conclude this really means there were up to 125 work-stations running the program during this time period. Most call centers run two shifts, so this could mean 250 people at any one time. And, over more than a year in duration. this could easily have been more than 500 people, since there is high turnover for these jobs. Thus it is understandable we could have interviewed candidates that worked at one of the HCL call centers on an RNC program. We have attached several of the Internet articles. I did not pay the \$2.95 fee to acquire the Post article, but will certainly provide it if vou need it.

The Post article says the work was contracted through Capital Communications Group. Inc. out of Meza. AZ. We are not this group nor do we know anything about this company or any employee of this company other than what we have read over the Internet.

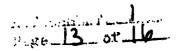
Further details reveal HCL was using technology that "masked" the Indian accents. We had no such technology on our calls.



My first quote to the AP reporter regarding this issue stated I understand how the RNC is trying to get to the bottom of the India call center issue, but we are not the source of thrae calls. Additionally I offered both the reporter and Ms. Vogel any assistance I can provide in making introductions to the Apex India call center and potentially an opportunity to talk to some of the people Apex hired who had RNC fund raising experience. Ms. Vogel said she was not interested in this offer, which surprised me greatly since she stressed how concerning the India call center issues was throughout the Party and they are making the claim that this is a contributing factor in their filing the complaint at the FEC. The AP reporter is very interesting in pursuing this and I am assisting her in this area.

Finally, regarding the general issue of outsourcing political fundraising off-shore; it's not against the law. As a Section 527 group, the IRS requirements state that we can not be controlled by a specific candidate or party and thus the RNC does not have the right to tell us what call centers we use. The Indian call center was used for approximately two months. No other off-shore center has or is being used. Nor is there any current plans to contract off-shore. All this was told to Ms. Vogel this morning. However, she was also teld it does not mean we won't consider off-shore options in the future. It is clear to me the INC is trying to sav we are the source of this "arban legend" even to the extent they would leak FEC documents to the press. We are NOT. They are more interested in doing this then talking to people in India who made RNC calls because they would then have to admit they did a terrible job in selecting a vendor partner and in managing that partner. Having worked with the RNC fundraising program in the past, and also having worked with telemarketing programs with such companies as Verizon, AT&T. Providian Financial, American Express, etc.; I have first-hand knowledge that the people managing the outsourced vendors at the RNC are at the low end of the lmowledge scale within the telemarketing industry. It's not necessarily their fault. It's not their core competency. And, the person who manages the vendors daily makes very little money for Washington DC. He's probably received raises over the years, but when he started proximately 8 years ago. I believe his salary was around \$25,000 per year.

Additionally, when I spoke with him 1-2 years ago about off-shore, he said they had recently added that clause to the contract. This leads me to believe the clause was NOT in the agreement the RNC potentially signed with Capital Communications Group, Inc and thus if RNC calls were made in India through this company, the RNC would have no legal reconsse against Capital and would have to accept responsibility for the calls themselves.



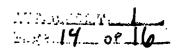
d. Although I have notified Ms. Novacek of the serious consequences of this activity – Through the Postal Service inquiry. I was aware that the RNC asked for the investigation and thought the issue was put to rest when the diamissal was issued and no challenge was filed. When I was contacted by the AP reporter last night. I told her I had been out-of-town for two weeks. The faxes she sent me were the first I knew the RNC had outstanding issues with us. When I spoke with Ms. Vogel this morning, she said she had mailed me a letter and I told her I had not had an opportunity to go through my mail. I have since and discovered she did in fact send a letter asking that I contact her.

Additionally, if Ms. Voyel has the 3-page Postal Service response letter, she also has my phone number. No voicemail messages have been left prior to filing the complaint so I assume she made no attempt to contact me by phone. It appears they did the minimum of send a cease and desist letter.

If I had known she was trying to contact me. I would have called her. In fact, I called the RNC last night after receiving the fax from the reporter in hopes of talking to Ms. Vogel before I made a quote to the press. (At the time I had no idea the RNC probably leaked the FEC complaint to the reporter.) This was after 6 pm EST and the RNC automated system was not functioning to direct me to the legal department, as it did this merning when I called first thing. I told the reporter this last night and Ms. Vogel this morning. However, my phone records will show I attempted to call the RNC before I called the AP reporter back and I called the RNC first thing this morning before Ms. Vogel was in the office and I had her assistant Dillon give her my phone number which she returned from her car

3. Page 4: Conclusion

The claim that our actions are knowing and willful fraudulent misrepresentations are simply not true. Have we made some filing errors? Absolutely and these are being corrected as expeditiously as possible. I don't believe filing errors constitute fraud. Mr. Dean told us first-time filers have made filing errors in the past and have had penalties waived. We hope this is the determination in our case, however, we realize our filing errors may result in a penalty from the FEC. Further, we have responded to any and all questions regarding our activity as quickly and openly as possible, and it appears the RNC's FEC complaint's only documentation is what we provided the Postal Service. These documents were not requested by the Postal Service. It was I who contacted Inspector Pinto, questioning bim on what I should provide to resolve the matter. To the best of my knowledge, he did not even know telemarketing scripts



existed. We have been totally cooperative and forthcoming in all these mattes and will continue to do so with any requirements of the FEC.

Additionally, we have attempted to work with the RNC to understand what the <u>real</u> issues are. Although I realize it's early in this dialog, since it's after 9 pm CST as I complete this document. I must say it is disappointing Ms. Vogel did not return my 2:30 pm phone call: nor did she keep her commitment to talk when she was back in her office with access to all the documents. Maybe she started "digging deeper" into some of their claims and she's finding they are not true, such as Apex's knowledge this was not an RNC program.

The extent of her understanding of the telemarketing fund-raising process is a perfect example of her jumping to conclusions regarding our activity and my belief the real motive here is to find a scapegoat for their India call center issue. This is exemplified in the conversation I had with her this morning. She said we were fraudulently misrepresented ourselves and I said we had not. Her response was. "How can you say that when you were using George Bush's and the GOP's website addresses in your printed materials?" This accusation is quite frankly laughable. My response was that we had not used these website addresses on our printed materials. (However, if we had I don't think publishing these web addresses would have been illegal. There are many websites not associated with the RNC or the Bush Campaign that have these links. If we put up a website, we very likely would place a link to the Bush website.) She interrupted and insisted she had seen this in our materials. I informed her what she saw was in the telemarketing script materials. We had both these website addresses and the RNC's telephone number available to the callers if a customer requested this information. I went on to tell her one of the things we heard quite often during the calls were requests for a Bush-Cheney bumper sticker. We went to the Bush website and found a section called "W Souff" that lind all kinds of merchandise. We added this to be of service to the customers. It should also be nointed out that our script materials elearly state the money raise through this call would not go to the Bush campaign. I can't believe the RNC is claiming willful fraud because we helped a Republican supporter acquire a Bush bumper sticker. I can believe the RNC filed this complaint in its over-zealous quest to not only find a scapegoat for the India issue, but because they don't want us using an off-shore call center and that Ms. Vogel wrote the claim without thoroughly examining and investigating the materials and information within the RNC's possession.

From our side, the lines of communication with any party inquiring about our activities has always been and remains open. I appreciate your time in reviewing this lengthy document. Please contact me at any time regarding these matters. It is my wish to quickly resolve the issues and as in the case when we were notified of the Postal Service inquiry.

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no new solicitations are being made until this is resolved. We had planned to begin solicitations again after the July 4th holiday, but this has been put on hold based on this new complaint. Thus, the RNC's actions have seriously harmed our fund-raising goals and objectives and we believe they are based on their quest to find a scapegoat for the "urban legend". They simply have the wrong group and since we are new to the game, we are easy bait to attack. Any assistance in expediting this matter will be greatly appreciated. I can be reached at 972-910-0025.

Sincerely,

Jody L. Novacek

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FPANELS (°E)

<u>4</u> of 4



Republican Victory 2004 Committee

2117 L Street NW # 125 · Washington, DC 20037-1524

March 10, 2004

«FirstName» «LastName» «Address1» «City», «ST» «ZIP»

DEAR «FirstName».

Thank you for speaking with my assistant «Agent» by telephone recently and your generous pledge of SePLD=00. I'm grateful our Party can count on your help to support Republicans across the country win elections. We are fortunate to have President Bush in the White House and our top priorities are to improve the American economy and defeat Democrats at all levels. Your gift will help local and state candidates running for office in your state. Strong support at the local and state levels will help get Republicants to the polls in November.

As you've heard on the evening news, the Democrats are hard at work raising money and distorting the Republican record and agends. Your pledge of SePLD=00 is critical in our efforts to build support for Republicans at all levels as we prepare for the November elections. I hope you'll send your generous gift promptly.

Please return the neceipt below to ensure your gift is processed properly. For your convenience, we've enclosed a postere-paid, stamped envelope. These you again!

Borns Polling

		Aum CA amma		
	Anna Collins Membership Chairman			
(cut here & return recel	pt with your pl	edge)		
MAIL TO:	FROM:	«FirstName» «LastName»		
Republican Victory 2004 Committee		«Addressl»		
2117 L Street NW # 125		«City», «ST» «ZIP»		
Washington, DC 20037-1524		APX030904		
The Republican Party can count on my support to help candiprepare for the November election. My contribution is enclosed () S-PLD=00 () S	sed: Other	ate & local level. I'm proud to help our Party		
Please make your check or money order payable to: Vi	<u>ctory 2004.</u>			
Federal elections have requires us to report the following infor	mation:			
Occupation: Emplo	yer:			
() Check if Retired	() Check if Self-Employed		
Countilizations or gifts to the Butthillian Pasty am not deducately as absentilly Victory 2004 Committee and not authorized by any candidate or candidate				

Hi. This is (YOUR FIRST NAME). Is (LEAD FIRST NAME) home?

IF NOT HOME - POSSIBLE SPOUSE: Are you a registered Republican?

IF NO: I'll call back, Thank you. Goodbye. (SET AS CALLBACK)

IF WHO'S CALLING: This is (Your First Name). Is (Lead FIRST NAME) available?
(When Not Home) This is (Your First Name). I'll Callback. Thank you. Goodbye.
(When Spouse) This is (Your First Name). Are you a registered Republican?

IF YES: Hi. I'm/This is (YOUR FIRST NAME) calling for the Republican Victory Committee. As you know, John Kerry is on the news everyday. It's going to be tough to beat the Democrate this fall. So, it's important to support our state candidates and President Bush's agenda.

Your financial help is critical so Republicans can win at the state and local levels. Join us with a pledge of just \$65, <u>OKAY!</u>

IF YES:

(TO CONFIRMATION)

IF NO:

(TO APPROPRIATE REBUTTAL OR CONTINUE)

2nd ATTEMPT

I understand. Your pledge doesn't have to be so much. Why don't I put you down for just` \$35, <u>OKAY!</u>

IF YES:

(TO CONFIRMATION)

IF NO:

(CONTINUE)

3rd ATTEMPT

A small gift of just 15 or 20 dollars will help a lot and we'll send you a letter and return envelope to mail in your pledge, OKAY!

IF YES:

(TO CONFIRMATION)

IF NO:

Thank you for your time. Goodbye.

CONFIRMATION

That's great! I need to record your information.

We have your first name as... (SPELL FIRST NAME or INITIAL) And your last name as... (SPELL LAST NAME)

1 25

CONFIDENTIAL

BPO Advantage

Page 1 of 2

Is this correct? IF NO: Can I have your name as you'd like it to appear? (CAPTURE)

We have your address as... (VERIFY/SPELL OUT ADDRESS-CITY-STATE-ZIP - MAKE CHANGES IF NEEDED)

Is this correct? IF NO: Can I have your correct address? (CAPTURE)

PAYMENT CAPTURE:

Your pledge is (AMOUNT), correct?

Great. We accept Mastercard, Visa, American Express or Discover. I'll hold while you get your card.

IF NO: We can send you a letter if you prefer, but using a credit card means more of your donation will help Republicans win this fall. It costs \$2.63 to mail a letter plus the bank charges another \$0.50 to deposit your check, so it's over \$3.00. Would you re-consider using a credit card?

IF NO TO CC: That's fine. To help keep our costs as low as possible, I'd like to have you fill out the check while we are on the phone and I need to give you a code to write on the memo line of the check. So, I'll hold while you get your checkbook and a pon to write with, and then we're done, OKAY!

(HOLD WHILE THEY GET A PEN & CHECKBOOK)

IF YES CHECK: You can make your check out to "Victory 2004 Committee." (SAY SLOWLY & PAUSE SO THEY CAN WRITE)
And, you have piedged (AMOUNT). (PAUSE)
On the memo line, please write the code XX(MMDDYY). And to confirm I spoke with you, may I have the number of your check — in the upper right-hand corner? (CAPTURE)

IF NO CHECK: That's fine, I'll make a note we we're unable to do this. (TO CLOSE)

IF YES TO CC: (CAPTURE CC INFO)

Account Number Expire Date

3-digit code on the back of the card

(VERIFY NAME ON THE CARD - CAPTURE IF DIFFERENT)

CLOSE

One more thing, I must remind you political contributions are not tax deductible. Your letter will go out tomorrow. You should receive it in 3 to 5 days: It will be in an over-sized Victory 2004 white envelope. It has a note on the outside of the envelope referencing our phone call. Since it's an election year and you're getting a lot of mail, please wait and look for the envelope that thanks you for this call and your support. Do you have any questions?

Thank you for your time and keep voting Republican. Goodbye/Goodnight.

CONPIDENTIAL BPO Advantage Page 2 of 2

Republican Victory 2004 Committee REBUTTALS

| ALREADY GAVE - I JUST SENT A CONTRIBUTION - I JUST GOT SOMETHING IN THE MATL - I GET TOO MANY CALLS/LETTERS - YOU JUST CALLED ME

I understand it can be confusing. There are about 5 or 6 Republican groups plus the candidate campaigns and the state and local party organizations. Let me tell you who your pledge will help. The Republican Victory Committee is a national group that supports state and local candidates. Your gift will go to help candidates in your state who are in close races and need help to put them over the top.

Since you have other requests, I'd like to suggest a small gift of just (Give Amount based on where the objection came in the script \$25 or \$15), OKAY!

IF YES:

IF YES: (GO TO MEMBERSHIP CAPTURE)
IF NO \$25: (GO TO 3rd Attempt)

IF NO \$15: Thank you for your time. Goodbye.

UNHAPPY WITH PRESIDENT BUSH

Your money will not go to President Bush. The Republican Victory 2004 Committee is a national group that supports state and local candidates.

Why don't I put you down for (Give Amount based on where the objection came in the script \$25 or \$15) today, OKAY!

IF YES: (GO TO MEMBERSHIP (GO TO 3rd ATTEMPT) (GO TO MEMBERSHIP CAPTURE)

IF NO \$15: Thank you for your time. Goodbye.

UNHAPPY ABOUT WAR/IRAO

I understand. It's a very difficult time. The Republican Victory 2004 Committee is a national group that supports state and local candidates. Your gift will go to help candidates in your state - not to national leaders.

Why don't I put you down for (Give Amount based on where the objection came in the script \$25 or \$15) today, **OKAY!**

IF YES: (GO TO MEMBERSHIP CAPTURE)
IF NO \$25: (GO TO 3rd ATTEMPT)

IF NO \$15: Thank you for your time, Goodbye.

WHAT'S THE MONEY FOR?/WHO ARE YOU?

The Republican Victory 2004 Committee is a national group that supports state and local candidates. Your gift will go to help candidates in your state who are in close races and need help to put them over the top.

I'd like to suggest a small gift of just (Give Amount based on where the objection came in the script \$25 or \$15) today, OKAYI

IF YES:

(GO TO MEMBERSHIP CAPTURE)

IF NO/\$25: (GO TO 3rd ATTEMPT)

IF NO/\$15:

Thank you for your time. Please keep voting Republican. Goodbye.

TALK TO MY HUSBAND/WIFE

I'll be happy to do that. I need his/her first name so I can ask for him/her when I call back.

(CAPTURE NEW NAME)

Thank you. I'll callback. Goodbye.

CAN YOU SEND ME SOMETHING - I DON'T DO BUSINESS OVER THE PHONE

We can send you a letter and an envelope to mail in your check for \$(AMOUNT), correct?

IF YES:

(GO TO MEMBERSHIP CAPTURE)

IF NO ME I CAN'T TELL YOU WHAT I'LL SEND OF JUST SEND IT TO ME:

The letter we send states the pledge amount and needs to be a minimum of \$15. Please save us the mail cost if you can't commit to the minimum. Can I put you down for \$15?

IF YES:

(GO TO MEMBERSHIP CAPTURE)

IF NO:

Thank you for your time. Goodbye

4 ... 5

DO NOT CALL - I'M ON A DON'T CALL LIST - I'M NOT SUPPOSE TO GET THESE CALLS

I'm sorry for the call. We'll put you on our list. Thank you. Goodbye.

WHERE ARE YOU CALLING FROM

Our office is right outside Washington DC - In Virginia. (GO IMMEDIATELY BACK TO SCRIPT - DQ NOT PAUSE.)

WEB SITE INFORMATION & PHONE NUMBER REQUESTS

<u>Bush-Cheney Campaign:</u> The national headquarters is in Arlington, VA. The number is 703-647-2700. The web site is GeorgeWBush.com (GO IMMEDIATELY BACK TO SCRIPT – DO NOT PAUSE.)

Bush Bumper Stickers: You'll need to get those from the Bush-Cheney campaign. I can give you their web site. GeorgeWBush.com. If you go to the bottom of the home page you will find "W Stuff". You should find bumper stickers there. (GO IMMEDIATELY BACK TO SCRIPT — DO NOT PAUSE.)

State Party Phone Numbers/Web Sites:

Since we are a national group supporting candidates at the local and state levels, we call all 50 states and I do not have each state's phone number. If you would like the Republican National Committee's number in Washington DC, I'll be happy to give you that or I can give you their web site which has links to the state party web sites.

202-863-8500 GOP.com (GO IMMEDIATELY BACK TO SCRIPT - DO NOT PAUSE.)

5 of S



Internal Revenue Service IRS.gov

DEFARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Political	Organ	ization	Disc	losure
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Basic Search

Advanced Search

Based on your Search Criteria of:

Searching for Form 8871, Form 8872, and Form 990

TOrganization Name: *republican victory*

Selected Organization: 'The Republican Victory Committee, Inc.'

Current Organization Information

Name: The Fiepublican Victory Committee, Inc.

ŒΙΝ: 510507007

_Address:

1221 Lakerldge Lane

irving, TX 75063

E-Mail: Contact: no **Gemail**

Jody Novacek

Custodian:

Jody Novacak

Submitted Forms

1 item found.

Form Description

Period End

Status

Date Posted

Submission Type

(select to view)

8871

Date NA

Initial

Search Again

Return to Political Organization Filing & Disclosure Homepage

Form **8871** (Rev. July 2003)

Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

1 Name of organization	Employer Identification number
The Republishen Victory Committee, inc.	\$1 - 0\$07007
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or number, street, 1221 Lakeridge Lane	and room or suits number)
City or town, state, and ZIP code	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
3 Check applicable box: ∠ Initial notice	Amended notice Final notice
4a Date established	4b Date of material change
01/27/2004	//
5 E-mail address of organization no Germil	
6a Name of sustration of researchs	Custodian's address
Joriju Novemek :	1221 Lakeridge Lane
	Irving, TX 75083
7a Name of contact person	Contact person's address
Jody Novacek	1221 Lakeridge Lane Irving, TX 75063
8 Business address of organization (if different 1221 Lakeridge Lane	t from mailing address shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number
City or town, state, and ZIP code Indig, TXI 79008	
Sa Election authority NONE	9b Election authority identification number
	xemption From Filing Certain Forms (see instructions) m filing Form 8872, Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures, as a qualified
state or local political organization? Yes No a	
10b If 'Yes,' list the state where the organization	n files reports:
11 le Mile organikation thriming exemplien free	un filling Form #90 (er 900-EZ), Return of Oligandastica Exempt from Integrate Tax, us a cedeus er
amusciations of state or found officials? You A	lo ∠
Part III Purpose	
12 Describe the purpose of the organization	

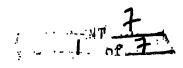
A conservative, Pro-Republican Group focusing on voter mobilization and issue advocacy at the state and local levels.

a of 3

Part IV List of All Related	ted Entities usee instructions	3)
13 Check If the organization has n	o related entities	≰
14a Name of related entity	14b Fletationship	14c Address
Part V List of All Office	ers. Directors, and Highly	Compensated Employees (see instructions)
15a Name	15b Title	15c Address
Freddig Notacek	Director	1221 Laberidge Lane Irving, TX 75063
Jason Novacek	Director	1221 Lakeridge Lane Irving, TX 75063
Jody Novacek	Director	1221 Lakeridge Lane Irving, TX 75063
Internal Revenue Code and belief, it is true, or below. Jody Novacek	e, and that I have examined this notice, prect, and complete. I further declare the	d in Part I is to be treated as a tax-exempt organization described in section 527 of the including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge at I am the official authorized to sign this report, and I am signing by entering my name 05/10/2004
Here Name of author	zed official	Date

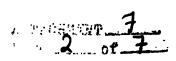
TI .S ETHICS COMMISSION POLITICAL COMMITTEE SEARCH Please Click On the Filer's ID to View Reports

PAC ID		Асгопут	Committee Type	City	State	COH ID	Related Candidate/Officeholder	Supports/ Opposes
00054316	Republican Victory Committee		ILTPAL	Sugar Land	TX			



The following reports have been filed.

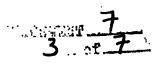
General Report Information	Electronic Filing in Raw Text Format	Electronic Filing PDF File	Totals and Correction Aff (if Applicable)	
Republican Victory Committee - 00054316 Report #: 255729 Report Type: Final Report Filed: Jul 29, 2004 Report Due: Jul 29, 2004 Filing Method: Paper	Paper Report	Paper Report	View Reported Totals	
Republican Victory Committee - (100054316 Report #: 255319 Report Type: July Semiannual Report Filed: Jul 15, 2004 Report Due: Jul 15, 2004 Filing Method: Paper	Paper Report	Paper Report	View Reported Totals	
Republican Victory Committee - 00054316 Report #: 244547 Report Type: 8 D=y Before Election Report Filed: Mar 1, 2004 Report Due: Mar 1, 2004 Filing Method: Paper	Paper Report	Paper Report	View Reported Totals	
Repoblican Victory Committee - 00054316 Report #: 242923 Report Type: 30 Days Before Election Report Filed: Feb 9, 2004 Report Due: Feb 9, 2004 Filing Method: Paper	Paper Report	Paper Report	View Reported Totals	
Republican Victory Committee - 00054316 Report #: 240875 Report Type: January Semiannual Report Filed: Jan 15, 2004 Report Due: Jan 15, 2004 Filing Method: Paper	Paper Report	Paper Report	View Reported Totals	



Totals from Report for Republican Victorille on: Jan 15, 2004 Committee

Covering the Feriod Jul 16, 2003 through Dec 31, 2003

Total Unitermized Contributions:	\$ 145.00
Total Political Contributions:	\$ 245.00
Total Unitermized Eम्ब्राचाditures:	\$ 0.00
Total Expenditures:	\$ 62.00
Total Unitermized Pledges (Schedule B1 or B2)	\$ 0.00
Total Contributions Maintained as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 183.00
Total Principal Amount of All Quistanding Loans as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 0.00
Total Unitermized Loans:	\$ 0.00



Totals from Report for Republican Victor Filed on: Feb 9, 2004 Committee

Covering the Period Jan 1, 2004 through Jan 30, 2004

Total Unitermized Contributions:	\$ 0.00
Total Political Contributions:	\$ 0.00
Total Uniteraized Expanditures:	\$ 0.00
Total Expenditures:	\$ 175.00
Total Unitemized Pledges (Schedule B1 or B2)	\$ 0.00
Total Contributions Maintained as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 28.00
Total Principal Amount of All Outstanding Loans as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 0.00
Total Unitermized Loans:	.\$ 0.00

Totals from Report for Republican Victo Committee Filed on: Mar 1, 2004
Covering the Period Jan 31, 2004 through Feb 28, 2004

Total Unitemized Contributions:	\$ 0.00
Total Political Contributions:	\$ 5,135.00
Total Unitemized Expenditures:	\$ 0.00
Total Expenditures:	\$ 5,180.00
Total Uniternized Pledges (Schedule B1 or B2)	\$ 0.00
Total Contributions Maintained as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 63.00
Total Principal Amount of All Outstanding Loss as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 0.00
Total Unitermized Loans:	\$ 0.00

Totals from Report for Republican Victor Filed on: Jul 15, 2004

Committee

1

Covering the Period Feb 29, 2004 through Jun 30, 2004

Total Unitemized Contributions:	\$ 0.00
Total Political Contributions:	\$ 0.00
Total Uniternized Expanditures:	\$ 0.00
Total Expanditures:	\$ 20.00
Total Unitemized Pledges (Schedule B1 or B2)	\$ 0.00
Total Contributions Maintained as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 43.00
Total Principal Amount of All Outstanding Loans as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 0.00
Total Unitemized Loans:	\$ 0.00

Totals from Report for Republican Victor Filed on: Jul 29, 2004

Committee

Covering the Period Jul 1, 2004 through Jul 26, 2004

Total Uniternized Contributions:	\$ 0.00
Total Political Contributions:	\$ 0.00
Total Unitemized Expenditures:	\$ 43.00
Total Expenditures:	\$ 43.00
Total Unitemized Pledges (Schedule B1 or B2)	\$ 0.00
Total Contributions Maintained as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 0.00
Total Principal Amount of All Outstanding Loans as of the Last Day of the Reporting Period	\$ 0.00
Total Uniternized Loans:	\$ 0.00

CORPORATE RECORDS & BUSINESS REGISTRATIONS

This Record Last Updated:

07/06/2003

Database Last Updated:

07-02-2004

Update Frequency:

DAILY

Current Date:

07/06/2004

Source:

AS REPORTED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR OTHER OFFICIAL

SOURCE

COMPANY INFORMATION

Name:

BPO ADVANTAGE, LP

Address:

1221 LAKERIDGE LANE

IRVING, TX 75063

FILING INFORMATION

Filing Date:

03/11/2003

State of Incorporation:

TEXAS

Duration:

PERPETUAL

Status:

IN EXISTENCE

Business Type:

DOMESTIC LIMITED PARTNERSHIP

Address Type:

MAILING

Registration ID#:

0800182089

Where Filed:

SECRETARY OF STATE

1019 BRAZOS ST

AUSTIN, TX 78701

REGISTERED AGENT INFORMATION

Agent Name:

JODY L NOVACEK

Address:

1221 LAKERIDGE LANE

IRVING, TX 75063

PRINCIPAL INFORMATION

Name:

BPO, INC.

Title:

GENERAL PARTNER

Address:

1221 LAKERIDGE LANE

1 of E

IRVING, TX 75063

AMENDMENT INFORMATION

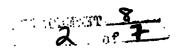
Amendments:

03/12/2003 MISCELLANEOUS; CERTIFICATE OF LIMITED PARTNERSHIP

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END OF DOCUMENT





Decide with Confidence

U.S. Pi

My Report Archive

☑ E-mail Rer

Public Records Business Name Report: BPO inc.

Reference Number:

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D&B PUBLIC RECORD SEARCH

ATTENTION: Ewilliams NAME ON FILING: BPO INC DATE PRINTED: SEP 23, 2004

STATE: TEXAS

* * * SEARCH CRITERIA SUMMARY * * *

NAME: BPO INC. STATE(S): ALL FILING TYPES: ALL

REFINED SEARCH: NO

* * * CORPORATE AND BUSINESS REGISTRATIONS * * *

REPORTED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR OTHER OFFICIAL SOURCE AS OF 08/27/2004

NAME: BPO INC

ADDRESS: 1221 LAKERIDGE LN, IRVING, TX 75063

FILING DATE: 03/12/2003

STATUS: NOT IN GOOD STANDING

BUSINESS TYPE: TEXAS FRANCHISE TAX

PAYER

REGISTRATION ID #: 32010972043

ADDRESS TYPE: MAILING

WHERE FILED: COMPTROLLER OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS/FRANCHISE TAX DIVISION, AUSTIN, TX

ADDITIONAL DETAILS: SOS CHARTER NUMBER: 0800182087

D&B FILING REFERENCE NO: 12301119665

REPORTED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR OTHER OFFICIAL SOURCE AS OF 09/21/2004

NAME: BPO, INC.

ADDRESS: 1221 LAKERIDGE LN, IRVING, TX 75063

FILING DATE: 03/11/2003 DATE INCORPORATED: 03/11/2003

STATE OF INCORP: TEXAS

STATUS: IN EXISTENCE

CORPORATION TYPE: NOT AVAILABLE BUSINESS TYPE: DOMESTIC CORPORATION

REGISTRATION ID #: 0800182087

ADDRESS TYPE: MAILING DURATION: PERPETUAL

WHERE FILED: SECRETARY OF STATE, AUSTIN, TX

REGISTERED AGENT: JODY L NOVACEK, 1221 LAKERIDGE LANE, IRVING, TX 75063

9/23/2004 9:31 AM

PRINCIPALS: JODY L NOVACEK, DIRECTOR, 1221 LAKERIDGE LANE, IRVING, TX 75063

AMENDMENTS: 03/12/2003 ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

ADDITIONAL DETAILS: STATE TAXPAYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER: 32010972043

D&B FILING REFERENCE NO: 15331138774

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Public Records Business Name Report: BPO inc.

Reference Number:

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D&B PUBLIC RECORD SEARCH

ATTENTION: Ewilliams

NAME ON FILING: BPO INCORPORATED

DATE PRINTED: SEP 23, 2004

STATE: TEXAS

* * * SEARCH CRITERIA SUMMARY * * *

- - SEARCH CRITERIA SUMMANI - - -

NAME: BPO INC. STATE(S): ALL FILING TYPES: ALL

ILING TYPES: ALL REFINED SEARCH: NO

* * * CORPORATE AND BUSINESS REGISTRATIONS * * *

REPORTED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR OTHER OFFICIAL SOURCE AS OF 09/21/2004

NAME: BPO INCORPORATED

FILING DATE: 08/29/1989
DATE INCORPORATED: 08/29/1989
STATE OF INCORP: TEXAS
STATUS: VOLUNTARILY DISSOLVED
STATUS ATTAINED: 04/30/1990

CORPORATION TYPE: NOT AVAILABLE BUSINESS TYPE: DOMESTIC CORPORATION REGISTRATION ID #: 0112472500

DURATION: PERPETUAL

WHERE FILED: SECRETARY OF STATE, AUSTIN, TX

REGISTERED AGENT: CT CORPORATION SYSTEM, 811 DALLAS AVE., HOUSTON, TX 77002

AMENDMENTS: 04/30/1990 ARTICLES OF DISSOLUTION 08/29/1989 ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

ADDITIONAL DETAILS: STATE TAXPAYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER: 30113529173

D&B FILING REFERENCE NO: 25435194105

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This Record Last Updated: 05/13/2004

Database Last Updated: 07-02-2004

Update Frequency: DAILY

Current Date: 07/06/2004

Source: AS REPORTED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR OTHER OFFICIAL

SOURCE

COMPANY INFORMATION

Name: BPO, INC.

Address: 1221 LAKERIDGE LN

IRVING, TX 75063

FILING INFORMATION

Filing Date: 03/11/2003

State of Incorporation: TEXAS

Date incorporated: 03/11/2003

Duration: PERPETUAL

Status: IN EXISTENCE

Corporation Type: NOT AVAILABLE

Business Type: DOMESTIC CORPORATION

Address Type: MAILING

Registration ID#: 0800182087

Where Filed: SECRETARY OF STATE

1019 BRAZO'S ST

AUSTIN, TX 78701

REGISTERED AGENT INFORMATION

Agent Name: JODY L NOVACEK

Address: 1221 LAKERIDGE LANE

IRVING, TX 75063

PRINCIPAL INFORMATION

Name: JODY L NOVACEK

Title:

DIRECTOR

Address:

1221 LAKERIDGE LANE

IRVING, TX 75063

AMENDMENT INFORMATION

Amendments:

03/12/2003 MISCELLANEOUS; ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

ADDITIONAL DETAIL INFORMATION

Additional Details:

STATE TAXPAYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER: 32010972043

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GOP Accuses Texas Group of Outsource Scam

By SHARON THEIMER The Associated Press

WASHINGTON - The Republican National Committee filed a complaint Tuesday accusing a Texas group of posing as a GOP organization to raise money by phone using an Indian telemarketing firm and through fundraising mailings.

The fund-raising telephone calls prompted false, widespread rumors that the RNC was outsourcing its donor phone calls to India, the committee's complaint to the Federal Election Commission says.

The complaint accuses The Republican Victory Committee, based in Irving, Texas, of impersonating the !lepublican Party and fraudulently raising money by telling prospective donors it was being solicited by the GOP for use by Republican candidates.

Jody Novacek, one of those named in the RNC complaint, said The Republican Victory Committee is a tax-exempt, political organization raising money for get-out-the-vote activities around the country.

The RNC's ellegations "couldn't be farther from the truth," Novacek said in a telephone interview. "We are Republican-leading, and the funds will be used for voter mobilization at the state and lecal level."

Novacek said The Republican Victory Committee started raising rooney in January - in part using a call center in India - but stopped in April when the U.S. postal inspector's office began an inquiry. She said the postal inspector's inquiry was resolved and her group had planned to resume fund raising after the July 4 holiday, but now would keep its solicitations on hold until the FEC complaint is put to rest.

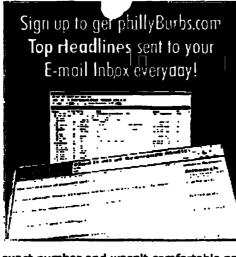
Spokesmen in the postal inspector's office in Washington did not imnusciabely respond to messages seeking comment.

> Novacale said The Republican Victory Committee had no paid staff and was operating purely as a volunteer organization. She said the group was using a consulting and marketing firm she owns, BPO Advantage, to manage its



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fund raising and p., its telemarketing bills, but that money from the committee was taken only "as a passthrough to the call center" and didn't benefit BPO Advantage. The Republican Victory Committee and BPO Advantage operate at the same address.

Novacek declined to release fund-raising figures for The Republican Victory Committee, saying she had no

exact number and wasn't comfortable providing an estimate. The group's first report to the Internal Revenue Service outlining its contributions and spending is due in July.

The RNC said it was alerted to the fund raising by people who received suspicious phone calls and mailings soliciting money for the "Republican Victory 2004 Committee." Caller ID numbers were associated with a call center in New Delhi, India, and one telemarketer claimed to be in "the Washington, D.C., of Virginia," the complaint says.

The RNC said it has been in consultation with the postal inspector's office about the fund raising.

On the Net:

Federal Election Commission: http://www.fec.gov/

Republican National Committee: http://www.rnc.org/

June 29, 2004 10:12 PM

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Indian voices in Bush pitch

Geography error blows lid off campaign outsourcing

K.P. NAYAR



New York, Aug. 29: They are not Americans. Most of them have never even set foot on American soil.

But half way round the globe from the US, in Bangalore and in New Delhi's satellite towns of <u>Gurgaon</u> and <u>Noida</u>, a band of young men is literally burning midnight oil for the viceory of President George W. Bush in his reelection bid on Novembur 2.

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As America's Republicans enthusiastically gather in New York to meanwhate their President for another four-year term, the work of these young Indians has, however, embarrassed the White House.

Stung by leaks that Republicans are outsourcing their election campaign work to India, the Republican National Committee (RNC), the party's highest policy-making body, recently filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission against one of its own outfits for raising money by using Indian telemarketers.



The admplaint dilegal that fund-raising telephone calls from India on bahalf of an organisation called the Republican Victory Controlites "prompted false, widespread rumque that the RNC was extensiving its doner phone calls to India".

The Republican Victory Committee is based in Irving, Texas, the home state of Bush. Republican sources said in private that its promoters have been long-time party enthusiasts. But the political compulsions of outsourcing have now forced the Republican leadership to discount the outfit.

The Telegra **Metr**

The Texas cutifit rany have actually got ramay with its crassing exercise if it basi rant been for the pear training given to Indian telemarketers who hadded the job. Sources here said the India-based operation was exposed when one American who received a fund-raising phone call on behalf of the Republican Victory Committee wanted to know where the call was coming from.

"The Washington DC of Virginia," the catter showered. Washington, the US capital, is actually in DC, short for District of Columbia, and Wighnia is ills neighbouring state.

The answer, which misrepresented American geography, triggered a series of actions which eventually led to the RNC's complaint with the Federal Election Commission.

Jody Novacek, who has been named in the RNC's complaint, told the media that the Texas organisation is "Republican-leaning and the funds (raised through ladis) will be used for voter mobilisation at the state and local level".

She said the committee had no paid staff and was entirely a volunteer organisation.

Novacek explained that the organisation had used BPO Advantage, a consulting and marketing firm owned by her, to manage its fund raising and pay its telemarketing bills.

7. 3 of 4

It started its fund-raising in January this year, but stopped in April when there were some

investigations by L

ital inspectors and then resumed its activities Jul

Sources here said that while the Republican Victory Committee's activities have been the most high profile in the context of outsourcing US election campaign activities, they represent memby the tip of an leabung.

According to reports here, the Republicans have contracted 75 Indian telemarketers through HCL eServe, a subsidiary of HCL, but efforts to confirm the contract have been stone-walled by the Indian company on the ground that it does not discuss client relations.

Because the Bush White House recognises the inevitability of outsourcing as part of globalisation and has not been opposing it unlike the Democrata, it is surmised that their re-election sampaign may have contracts with many ledian estoourcing fights.

The way the Republican leadership dumped the Republican Victory Committee is, however, an example of how much of a hot potato outsourcing has become in the run-up to the presidental poli.

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